

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LISON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USBERLIN 269

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJECT: AMERICAN PROFESSOR'S CONVERSATIONS  
WITH PORTUGUESE MILITARY LEADERS

REF: LISBON 678 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: DURING JAN 29-FEB 5 VISIT TO PORTUGAL, PROFESSOR MICHAEL GLANTZ INTERVIEWED TWO LEADERS OF ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT, LT.COL. CAMPOS AND BRIG.GEN, CARVAHLO, BOTH OF WHOM HE HAD KNOWN IN 1972-73 IN GUINEA-BISSAU. HIS ACCOUNT OF THESE INTERVIEWS, WHICH COVERED BOTH HISTORY OF 1974 COUP AND THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE, IS SUMMARIZED BELOW. GLANTZ' GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF CURRENT PORTUGUESE SCENE FOLLOW BY SEPTEL. END SUMMAR.

2. AS REQUEST BY EMB LISBON (REFTEL), MISSION OFFICER MET WITH GLANTZ EVENING FEB 7 TO DISCUSS HIS RECENT TRIP TO PORTUGAL AND TO OBTAIN COPY OF REPORT PROMISED EMB. GLANTZ MOST COOPERATIVE IN SHARING WITH USG SUBSTANCE HIS INTERVIEWS WITH AFM LEADERS AS WELL HIS IMPRESSIONS OF CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE IN PORTUGAL. DESPITE FACT HIS ORAL PRESENTATION SOMEWHAT DISJOINTED AND FREQUENTLY COLORED BY HIS  
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OWN ACADEMIC PRECONCEPTIONS, IT DID YIELD ADDITIONAL

USEFUL INSIGHTS. FOLLOWING REPORT SUMMARIZES HIGHLIGHTS OF LENGTHY DISCUSSION AND SALIENT POINTS OF NOTES, WHICH BEING POUCHED. ALTHOUGH NOTES IN HANDWRITTEN FORM AND CRYPTIC, THEY ARE READABLE. GLANTZ TOLD MISOFF THAT HE CONSIDERING PUBLICATION OF ONE OR MORE ACCOUNTS OF HIS CONTACTS WITH AFM LEADERS, INCLUDING ARTICLE HE HAS BEEN ASKED TO WRITE FOR PRESTIGIOUS WEST GERMAN DAILY, DIE ZEIT. FROM RECEPTION HE RECEIVED, GLANTZ CONVINCED HE COULD HAVE ACCESS IN FUTURE TO ANY OF AFM LEADERS; THEREFORE HE ANXIOUS TO RETURN SOON TO PORTUGAL.

3. BACKGROUND OF GLANTZ VISIT TO PORTUGAL -- GLANTZ VISITED PORTUGAL JAN 29-FEB 5 FOR PURPOSE OF LECTURING ON ENVIRONMENTAL THEMES AT INSTITUTO GEOFISICA. WHILE THERE HE DECIDED TO RENEW ACQUAINTANCE WITH LT.COL. DE COSTA CAMPOS, WHOM HE HAD KNOWN IN DEC 1972 AND JAN 1973 IN GUINEA-BISSAU. AT THAT TIME, ACCORDING TO GLANTZ, HE WAS THE FIRST NON-CONSERVATIVE RESEARCHER PERMITTED BY THE GOP TO TOUR GUINEA-BISSAU. IN ORDER COORDINATE HIS RESEARCH EFFORTS, GLANTZ WAS OBLIGED TO DEAL WITH LARGE NUMBER OF MIDDLE-GRADE PORTUGUESE OFFICERS IN THE MILITARY COMMAND STRUCTURE. HIS MAIN CONTACT HAD BEEN CAMPOS, THEN A MAJOR WORKING DIRECTLY FOR GEN. SPIOLA'S PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE UNIT, BUT HE ALSO HAD CONTACTS WITH A NUMBER OF CAMPOS' SUBORDINATES, INCLUDING BRIG. GEN. (THEN CAPTAIN) OTELO SARAIVA DE CARVALHO, WHO WERE LATER TO SURFACE AS LEADERS OF THE APRIL 1974 COUP.

#### 4. INTERVIEW WITH LT.COL. CAMPOS - BIO DATA:

A. GLANTZ SPENT SEVERAL DAYS WITH CAMPOS AND HIS FAMILY IN CITY OF EVORA, WHERE LATTER IS NOW STATIONED AS COMMANDER OF THE SOUTHERN REGION. IN VIEW OF THEIR CLOSE FRIENDSHIP, GLANTZ WAS RELUCTANT TO SHARE IN DETAIL WITH USG PERSONNEL CAMPOS' COMMENTS; CONSEQUENTLY, IN HIS NOTES THERE IS ONLY BRIEF SECTION DEVOTED TO SEVERAL DAYS OF TALKS WITH CAMPOS FAMILY SUGGESTING THAT HE OMITTED THIS ADDITIONAL

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MATERIAL.

B. GLANTZ UNCERTAIN WHETHER CAMPOS IS FULL-FLEDGED MEMBER OF AFM, BUT HE CONVINCED HIS FRIEND SUPPORTED ORIGINAL ANTI-REGIME ACTIVITIES OF DISCONTENTED OFFICERS SERVING IN GUINEA, AND HAS REMAINED ON GOOD TERMS WITH KEY MEMBERS OF MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY CARVALHO, WHO HE REPORTEDLY SHIELDED FROM SPINOLA'S WRATH IN

GUINEA-BISSAU. ACCORDING CAMPOS, APRIL 1974 COUP HAD ITS BEGINNINGS IN GUINEA (HE HIMSELF KNEW OF THE PLANS AS EARLY AS FEB 1974), AND DISSENT WITHIN THE MILITARY THEN SPREAD TO HOMELAND AND OTHER PORTUGUESE COLONIES. TWO MOST IMPORTANT INDIVIDUALS IN AFM, ACCORDING TO CAMPOS, ARE CARVALHO AND GEN. FABIAO.

C. CAMPOS REVEALED THAT HIS GREATEST CONCERN NOW IS PREVENTION OF ARMS SMUGGLING FROM SPAIN INTO PORTUGAL BY VARIOUS PARTIES BEFORE THE ELECTION. FROM HIS TALKS WITH CAMPOS AND OTHERS, GLANTZ IS CONVINCED THAT BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT EXTREMISTS ARE LAYING ASIDE LARGE ARMS CACHES AND MAKING OTHER PREPARATIONS TO GO UNDERGROUND IN EXPECTATION OF AN EARLY CIVIL WAR, WHICH PROMISES TO BE BLOODY BECAUSE SO MANY YOUNG PORTUGUESE ARE SKILLED IN THE USE OF WEAPONS.

D. GLANTZ DESCRIBED CAMPOS AS DEDICATED PROFESSIONAL SOLDIER HOLDING MODERATE LEFTIST POLITICAL VIEWS. AS A REGULAR, HE RESENTS RAPID PROMOTIONS GIVEN TO MANY AFM LEADERS AND BELIEVES MILITARY SHOULD PLAY ESSENTIALLY NEUTRAL ROLE IN POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF COUNTRY, EVENTUALLY WITHDRAWING FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE. ABOUT 45-50 YEARS OF AGE, CAMPOS IS SCION OF FAIRLY WEALTHY FAMILY BUT NOT ONE OF THE 30 RICHEST FAMILIES WHO HAVE TENDED TO CONTROL PORTUGAL THROUGH THEIR WEALTH. CAMPOS IS MARRIED, HAS TWO CHILDREN (A BOY AND A GIRL), AND SPEAKS GOOD ENGLISH. GLANTZ IS FEARFUL THAT CAMPOS, AS MEMBER OF PROPERITED CLASS (HE HIMSELF OWNS SEVERAL HOUSES), AND DUE TO HIS OPPOSITION TO THE POLITICIZATION OF THE MILITARY, MAY SOON FALL VICTIM TO THE PURGE OF THE OFFICER CORPS PRESENTLY BEING CONDUCTED BY AFM. ON OTHER HAND, IF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PRESENT JUNTA SHOULD BE TOPPLED BY A MORE RIGHT-WING ORIENTED COUP, GLANTZ BELIEVES CAMPOS COULD EMERGE AS A POWERFUL FORCE WITH THE MILITARY.

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5. INTERVIEW WITH CARVALHO -- GLANTZ MET WITH BRIGGEN CARVALHO, THE MILITARY GOVERNOR OF LISBON AND REPUTEDLY THE BRAINS BEHIND THE APRIL 1974 COUP, FOR AN HOUR AND A QUARTER ON FEB 4. INTERVIEW TOOK PLACE AT CARVALHO'S HQ AT THE QUARTEL GEFERAL FOR THE ARMED FORCES (COPCON). SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AT THE QUARTEL, ACCORDING TO GLANTZ, WERE PRIMITIVE, CONSISTING OF ONLY A FEW UNKEMPT, POORLY-DESCIPLINED YOUNG GUARDS. THEREFORE HE FELT DETERMINED INDIVIDUALS WOULD HAVE LITTLE TROUBLE GAINING ACCESS TO QUARTEL. CARVALHO'S OFFICE IS LOCATED ON SECOND FLOOR OF MAIN QUARTEL BUILDING. GLANTZ OBSERVED DURING THEIR MEETING THAT CARVALHO WAS HEAVILY ARMED: HE WORE A SHOULDER HOLSTER PISTOL, HAD ANOTHER PISTAL IN A DESK DRAWER AND A KHALASHNIKOV AUTOMATIC RIFLE NEARBY. GLANTZ SENSED FROM THIS AND EARLIER ENCOUNTERS IN GUINEA THAT CARVALHO HAS A SECURITY COMPLES.

6. AT OUTSET OF INTERVIEW GLANTZ EXPLAINED THAT ALTHOUGH HE HAD COME AS OLD FRIEND HE WOULD LIKE TO ACT AS JOURNALIST BY TAKING NOTES, TO WHICH CARVALHO READILY ASSENTED. GLANTZ HAD INTENDED TO DIRECT INTERVIEW TOWARD PRESENT SITUATION AND POLITICAL FUTURE OF PORTUGAL, BUT CARVALHO INSISTED THROUGHOUT ON RECOUNTING HISTORY OF COUP, AND SPECIFICALLY HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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LEADERSHIP OF IT. FOLLOWING ARE MAJOR POINTS MADE BY CARVELHO.

7. HISTORY OF THE COUP:

A. WHILE SPINOLA WAS EXCELLENT MILITARY MAN, HE

PROVED TO BE A POOR POLITICIAN, AND THUS HAD FAILED AS PRESIDENT. INSTEAD OF COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL CLIMATE, HE FEARED IT; THIS WAS ESPECIALLY EVIDENT IN HESITANCY HE DISPLAYED TOWARD THE PCP (COMMUNIST PARTY). FROM ANOTHER SOURCE GLANTZ LEARNED THAT SPINOLA PRESENTLY AT HIS HOME IN LISBON DECLINING TO GIVE INTERVIEWS.

B. GEN. FABIAO (WHOM CARVALHO REPORTEDLY DISLIKES AND MAY TRY TO OUST) WAS NOT ORIGINALLY PART OF APRIL 25 MOVEMENT AND ONLY JOINED AFM LATER AS SUPPORTER OF SPINOLA.

C. CARVALHO (AND ALSO CAMPOS) CONFIRMED THAT ABORTIVE REVOLT MARCH 17, 1974 BY TROOPS FROM CALDAS DE RAINHA WAS PART OF SUCCESSFUL APRIL COUP, AND EARLIER ATTEMPT HAD FAILED MAINLY BECAUSE OF POOR COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE CONSPIRATORS.

D. AFM HAD ITS ORIGINS IN LISBON IN JULY 1973 AMONG MIDDLE-GRADE OFFICERS DISCONTENTED WITH MILITARY ADVANCEMENT SYSTEM. THE MALCONTENTS SOON ENLISTED SUPPORT OF COLLEAGUES STATIONED IN GUINEA AND ELSEWHERE. MOVEMENT WAS LIMITED TO CAPTAINS AND WAS STRICTLY SECRET. ON SEPT 5, 1973, 55 CAPTAINS WROTE A LETTER OF COMPLAINT TO CAETANO AND OTHER KEY MILITARY AND CIVILIAN LEADERS. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR LETTER SIGNED BY 136 OFFICERS SENT FROM EVORA. MEETINGS WERE HELD IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER AND PLANS BEGAN TO TAKE CONCRETE SHAPE AFTER SPINOLA WAS TRANSFERRED FROM GUINEA TO LISBON AS VICE CHIEF OF THE ARMY.

E. CARVALHO AND HIS GROUP OF CAPTAINS HAD DECIDED BY MARCH 14 TO MOUNT IMMINENT COUP, BUT ORIGINAL PLANS WERE POSTPONED BECAUSE MARCH TIMING CONSIDERED INCONFIDENTIAL

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OPPORTUNE AND AMMO FOR TROOPS WAS LACKING. CARVALHO STRESSED THAT UNTIL MARCH 16 CONSPIRATORS HAD USED ESSENTIALLY PROFESSIONAL TACTICS, E.E., LETTER WRITING, PROTESTS, ETC., TO OPPOSE THE REGIME. AFTER THE 16TH IT WAS DECIDED THEY MUST RESORT TO ARMS IN ORDER TO FIGHT THE GOVT.

F. AT MARCH 24 MEETING CARVALHO EXPLAINED THAT FAILURE OF MARCH 17 UPRISING WAS DUE TO POOR TIMING AND FAULTY EXECUTION. HE REASSURED HIS FELLOW OFFICERS THAT IF THEY TRUSTED HIM HE COULD GUARANTEE SUCCESS. AFTER STUDY OVERALL SITUATION IN COUNTRY OVER NEXT FEW WEEKS, HE GAVE FINAL ORDERS APRIL 23 TO FELLOW

OFFICERS WHO THEN DROVE THROUGHOUT COUNTRY IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES TO ALERT THEIR UNITS. CARVALHO SAID ALL WAS READY BY 1500 OF 24TH AND ONCE COUP BEGAN HE REMAINED ON DUTY AT HIS COMMAND POST FOR THREE DAYS.

G. THROUGHOUT INTERVIEW CARVALHO REFERRED TO OVERTHROW OF CAETANO REGIME AS A "COUP" NOT A "REVOLT".

8. ON THE FUTURE OF PORTUGAL:A. CARVALHO MAINTAINED THAT AFM MUST WORK TOWARD SOCIAL JUSTICE AND A NEW KIND OF SOCIALISM, I.E., SOMETHING QUITE DISTINCT FROM BRANDS OF SOCIALISM PEDDLED BY THE COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALIST -- PORTUGUESE SOCIALISM. HE CONTENDED THAT THE AFM MUST BE THE SPEAR-HEAD OF THIS NEW SOCIALISM, OTHERWISE THE TRADITIONAL PARTIES WOULD OUTDISTANCE THEM FORCING THE MILITARY TO RETIRE OR RETURN TO THE BARRACKS, WHICH HE INTIMATED SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN FOR GOOD COUNTRY. THE AFM SHOULD STRIVE TO WORK WITH THE PEOPLE AND WITH THE OTHER SOCIALIST PARTIES TO ACHIEVE A TRULY DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM. CARVALHO, HOWEVER, SPOKE OF SOCIALISM IN A VAGUE, NON-MARXIST WAY MENTIONING THAT THE AFM WANTED TO CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THE MANY POOR AND THE FEW RICH. CARVALHO SAID HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAVE MADE NO PLANS YET FOR THE FUTRE NOR HAVE THEY ARTICULATED THE GUIDING PRECEPTS OF PORTUGUESE SOCIALS.

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B. REFERRING TO RECENT LEFTIST ATTACK IN PORTO  
AGAINST RIGHTIST CDS RALLY, CARVALHO SAID ALTHOUGH HE  
HAD WARNED COMMANDER IN PORTO TO EXPECT TROUBLE THREE  
DAYS IN ADVANCE, AUTHORITIES THERE HAD BEEN TOLERANT  
AND HAD UNDERESTIMATED STRONG ANTI-FASCIST FEELINGS.  
HAD CDS HELD THEIR RALLY IN LISBON, THERE WOULD HAVE  
BEEN NO TROUBLE SINCE HE WOULD HAVE BANNED MEETING AS  
HE DID LATER MRPP RALLY BY SENDING TROOPS INTO THE  
STREETS. THROUGHOUT MEETING CARVALHO INTIMATED THAT  
CERTAIN POLITICAL GROUPS REQUIRE CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE.  
CARVALHO CLOSED MEETING WITH GLANTZ, CONDUCTED MAINLY  
IN PORTUGUESE, BY WELCOMING HIM TO RETURN AT LATER  
DATE.

9. BIO DATA ON CARVALHO -- CARVALHO, ACCORDING TO  
GLANTZ, IS IN MID-40S AND UNTIL HIS EMERGENCE AS BRAINS  
BEHIND THE AFM HAD UNDISTINGUISHED (ALMOST LACKLUSTER)  
MILITARY CAREER. BOTH IN GUINEA AND IN LISBON, GLANTZ  
NOTICED THAT CARVALHO SEEMS TO HAVE A FETISH ABOUT  
CLEANLINESS AND THE CORRECT CUT OF HIS CLOTHES (DURING  
INTERVIEW HE WORE CIVILIAN GARB). DESPITE HIS ALLEGED  
LEADERSHIP OF COUP, CARVALHO APPARENTLY NOT RPT NOT  
KNOWN AMONG HIS COLLEAGUES AND SUBORDINATES FOR  
HAVING ANY EXCEPTIONAL INTELLECTUAL PROWESS. PRESIDENT  
GOMEZ AND GEN. FAIAO CONSIDERED FAR MORE  
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INTELLIGENT. IN FACT, GLANTZ HEARD SEVERAL RUDE JOKES  
DIRECTED AT CARVALHO BY HIS SUBORDINATES FOR ALLEGED  
STUPIDITY. CARVALHO'S OVERRIDING QUALITY SEEMS TO BE  
AN OVERSIZED EGO. GLANTZ CONVINCED THAT DESPITE HIS  
LIP SERVICE TO SOCIALISM, CARVALHO IS BASICALLY NON-  
IDEOLOGICAL, HAS NO TRUE UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIALIST  
CONCEPTS, BUT IS HOPING TO CAPITALIZE ON THE WAVE OF  
LEFTIST SENTIMENT IN THE COUNTRY TO PERPETUATE THE RULE  
OF THE JUNTA WITH HIMSELF AT ITS HELM. ON OTHER HAND,  
THEJE ARE OTHERS WHO ARGUE THAT CARVALHO IS SHALLOW  
FRONT-MAN, PROBABLY FOR THE COMMUNISTS, WHO WILL  
DESPTACH HIM AT THEIR PLEASURE. CARVALHO IS BELIEVED  
TO BE MARRIED AND SPEAKS GOOD ENGLISH.

10. SEPTTEL SUMMARIZES GLANTZ IMPRESSIONS OF  
CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN PORTUGAL. FOLLOWING  
STOP-OVER IN BERLIN, GLANTZ TRAVELED TO CAIRO WHERE HE  
WILL BEGIN EXTENDED AFRICAN TOUR THAT WILL  
TERMINATE IN DAKAR MARCH 7-18. SINCE HE WILL BE  
MAKING ONLY BRIEF STOPS ELSEWHERE, GLANTZ SUGGESTED  
DAKAR AS BEST PLACE TO CONTACT HIM IF EMB HAS ANY  
FURTHER QUESTIONS. GEORGE

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